1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca, 1800)1819
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other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians, that are between them. By this means they get our lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

'In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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bank of the river. The Cornplanter, chief of this nation, observing some uneasiness among the officers and people of the place, and fearing the murder at this time and place, might perhaps create much disturbance, waited in the morning on the Governor, whom he desired "not to be uneasy about what had happened the preceding night, for the man who had been killed was of no "consequence." This meant in other words, that he was disowned for his bad conduct by his countrymen, and that his death would not be a loss to his nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

IT may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues; how a people can be well and effectually governed without any external authority; by the mere force of the ascendancy which men of superior minds have over those of a more ordinary stamp; by a tacit, yet universal submission to the aristocracy of experience, talents and virtue! Such, nevertheless, is the spectacle which an Indian nation exhibits to the eye of a stranger. I have been a witness to it for a long series of years, and after much observation and reflection to discover the cause of this phenomenon, I think I have reason to be satisfied that it is in

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"All *Yengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*"

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*qnischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

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CHAPTER XXXII.

SUPERSTITION.

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GREAT and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, careless of dangers, patient of hunger, thirst and cold, and fond of displaying the native energy of his character even in the midst of tortures, at the very thought of which our own puny nature revolts and shudders; this Lord of the Creation, whose life is spent in a state of constant warfare against the wild beasts of the forest and the savages of the wilderness, who proud of his independent existence, strikes his breast with exultation and exclaims "*I am a man!*"—the American Indian has one weak side, which sinks him down to the level of the most fearful and timid being, a childish apprehension of an occult and unknown power, which, unless he can summon sufficient fortitude to conquer it, changes at once the hero into a coward. It is incredible to what a degree the Indian's superstitious belief in witchcraft operates upon their minds; the moment that their imagination is struck with the idea that they are bewitched, they are no longer themselves; their fancy is constantly at work in creating the most horrid and distressing images. They see themselves falling a sacrifice to the wicked arts of a vile unknown hand, of one who would not have dared to face them in fair combat; dying a miserable ignominious death; a death, to which they would a thousand times prefer the stake with all its horrors. No tale, no tradition, no memorial of their cou-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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considered as slight matters. If the will and intention of the aggressor appears to be *bad*; if the insult offered is considered as the forerunner of something worse; or, as the Indians express themselves, if the "*murdering spirit*" is "*alive*" within him who offers or threatens violence to another, they think themselves justified in preventing the act meditated against them; in such a case, they consider killing the aggressor as an act of necessity and self defence. Yet it is very rarely, indeed, that such punishments are inflicted.* The Indians, in general, avoid giving offence as much as possible. They firmly believe that bad thoughts and actions proceed from the evil spirit, and carefully avoid every thing that is *bad*.

Every person who is well acquainted with the true character of the Indians will admit that they are peaceable, sociable, obliging, charitable and hospitable among themselves, and that those virtues are, as it were, a part of their nature. In their ordinary intercourse, they are studious to oblige each other. They neither wrangle nor fight; they live, I believe, as peaceably together as any people on earth, and treat one another with the greatest respect. That they are not devoid of tender feelings has been sufficiently shewn in the course of this work. I do not mean to speak of those whose manners have been corrupted by a long intercourse with the worst class of white men; they are a degenerate race, very different from the true genuine Indians whom I have attempted to describe.

If any one should be disposed to think that I have exaggerated in the picture which I have drawn of these *original people*, as they call themselves, I appeal to the numerous impartial writers who have given the same testimony respecting them. What says Christopher Columbus himself of the American Indians in his letters to

* See above, ch 18 p. 161.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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his sovereign? "There are not," says he, "a better peo-
"ple in the world than these; more affectionate, affable
"or mild. *They love their neighbours as themselves.*"

Similar encomiums were passed on them by some of the first Englishmen who came to settle in this country. The Reverend Mr. Cushman, in a sermon preached at Plymouth in 1620, says: "The Indians are said to be "the most cruel and treacherous people in all those parts, "even like lions; but to us they have been like lambs, "so kind, so submissive and trusty, as a man may "truly say, many Christians are not so kind and sin-"cere."

The learned Dr. Elias Boudinot, of Burlington in New Jersey (a man well remembered as one of the most eminent leaders of the American revolution)* in a work† which, whatever opinion may be entertained of the hypothesis that he contends for, well deserves to be read, for the spirit which it breathes and the facts that it contains, has brought together in one view, the above and many other authorities of eminent men in favour of the American Indians, and in proof that their character is such as I have described. I shall not repeat after him what Las Casas, William Penn, Bryan Edwards, the Abbé Clavigero, Father Charlevoix, and others, have said on the same subject; those numerous and weighty testimonies may be found in the work to which I have referred.‡ But I cannot refrain from transcribing the opinion of the venerable author himself, to which his high character, his learning, and his independence, affix a more than common degree of authority.

* Dr. Boudinot was long a member and once President of the Continental Congress, and his talents were very useful to the cause which he had embraced. At a very advanced age, he now enjoys literary ease in a dignified retirement.

† A Star in the West, or a humble attempt to discover the long lost ten tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem. Trenton (New Jersey) 1816.

‡ See page 140, and following.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"It is a matter of fact," says Dr. Boudinot, "proved "by most historical accounts, that the Indians, at our "first acquaintance with them, generally manifested "themselves kind, hospitable and generous to the Euro- "peans, so long as they were treated with justice and "humanity. But when they were, from a thirst of gain, "over-reached on many occasions, their friends and re- "lations treacherously entrapped and carried away to be "sold for slaves, themselves injuriously oppressed, deceiv- "ed and driven from their lawful and native possessions; "what ought to have been expected, but inveterate en- "mity, hereditary animosity, and a spirit of perpetual "revenge? To whom should be attributed the evil "passions, cruel practices and vicious habits to which "they are now changed, but to those who first set them "the example, laid the foundation and then furnished "the continual means for propagating and supporting the "evil?"*

Such was the original character of the Indians, stamped, as it were, upon them by nature; but fifty or sixty years back, whole communities of them bore the stamp of this character, difficult now to be found within the precincts of any part of their territory bordering on the settlements of the white people!

What! will it be asked, can this be a true picture of the character of the Indians; of those brutes, barbarians, savages, men without religion or laws, who commit indiscriminate murders, without distinction of age or sex? Have they not in numberless instances desolated our frontiers, and butchered our people? Have they not violated treaties and deceived the confidence that we placed in them? No, no; they are beasts of prey in the human form; they are men with whom no faith is to be kept, and who ought to be cut off from the face of the earth!

Stop, my friends! hard names and broad assertions

* Star in the West, p. 138

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Nanticoke NM11

D 765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 681 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 36 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

D 439

D 682 672

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

The French seem to possess a greater share of the good-will of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not 101
called wild because we believe them to be mad
and insane, but on account of their idolatry and
error in religion. [They] are a kind of people 102
of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with
their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and
grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are
tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a
well proportioned people, slender and straight as
a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among
them the following chapter, concerning the rear-
ing of their children will show, how they are
treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are 103
eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their
arms, but very weak across their back, very agile,
and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

[1] *Om den Amerikanske vilde Menniskiors naturlige skickelser, lefnat, humeur och Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 110 ff.

[2] *Af brun achtigh colour.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Mycket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

[pp. 1-190 not processed]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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[8] scent of animals like dogs; have a good memory, are intimate in conversation,[5] industrious and diligent, clever, charitable, wide awake, bold,[6] inquisitive,[7] patient and hardened to stand much hardship. On the other hand, they are also very mischievous,[8] haughty, are eager for praise, wanton, bestial, mistrustful, untruthful and thievish, dishonorable, coarse in their affections, shameless and unchaste.

In short these Indians are people of various qualities and more inclined towards bad than towards good, which will be further observed in the following.

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have them hanging at their backs: they are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the Countrey (by reason of their huntings) that I have often been guided twentie, thirtie, yea, sometimes fortie miles through the woods, a streight course, out of any path." Williams, *Key*, 73–4.

[5] *Fortrogne i conversation*, that is they are trusting and open-hearted.

[6] *Karske*, also *morske*, bold, cocky.

[7] *Undherraamme*, wondering, inquisitive. In this connection Williams says: "Their desire of, and delight in newes, is great, as the *Athenians*, and all Men, more or lesse; a stranger that can relate newes in their owne language, they will stile him *Manittoo*, a God." *Key*., 62.

[8] *Odijgdige*.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

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[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hushåldningh bestådr lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

John Johnston—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments; but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

John Johnston—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

Captain Chipps—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

Heckewelder stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
362 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
363 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[241] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

361 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
● 181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[751(A)]

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439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
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[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight
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452 regard for money. As the payment was de-
443 layed more than a day beyond the time, I noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

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273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.

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648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the